

# REVIEW OF THE STATE OF THE ENGLISH NATION.

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Thursday, January 23. 1706.

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I Offer'd my Calculations in the last Review about Addresses in *Scotland*, and I think, I have stated the Account so right, that no body will for the future advance these Sorts of Generals, That all the Kingdom is agaist the Union.

I could enlarge here on a Particular, which would discover another kind of dealing, that every Body is not acquainted with; and that is, who the several Parishes, Burghs, Presbyteries and Counties have been acted by, that have been drawn in to these Addresses, and by what Methods they have been influenced.

This would discover such a Fund of Villany, such black Doings, such a Circulation of Forgeries, wheedling Arts, and unaccountable Attempts, the Work of Hell by the Agency of Jacobitism and Party Malice,

that is too long for this Place, and must be reserv'd for the larger Relation of these things; in which I shall endeavour to be both very plain and particular.

I shall however make a short Attempt here on the general Doctrine of Addresses, as I have done my self the Honour to apply it in *Scotland*, and which I hope can be useles no where; and the great Question, I take upon me here, is,

What is the Obligation of Parliaments to the Addresses or Petitions of the People, and what the Duty or Part of the Persons addressing?

I have stood still, and seen the Parliament of *Scotland* throng'd with Addresses or Petitions, and some of them in an unusual Stile; a Stile Parliaments in other Kingdoms resent with more Severity a great deal; I have

have seen Authority insulted, Her Majesty in the Person of her Representative very ill treated, and all past over with Lenity and Gentleness——To this I have thought my self oblig'd to say nothing, as not in my Sphere; His Grace the High-Commissioner and the Parliament know how to resent, and when; and 'tis not my Busines to presume to direct.

But after all this, I cannot but take Notice of the Dialect of some People there, which to me is very strange, who have been talking very confidently of going to ask the Parliament for an Answer to their Addresses——This *in English* I take to be equivalent to calling the Parliament to account; and some Gentlemen have as good as call'd it so.

Indeed their Resolution has not been equal to their Project, and they have not yet thought fit to put their Schemes in Practice: But I thought it necessary, for the Information of those who pretend to justifie such a Method, to examine a little the Nature, Right and Obligation of addressing or petitioning our Superiors, and state the Point of Duty between both Addressers, and the Persons addressed.

As this is a nicer Point than ordinary, and he that writes upon it, may easily be mis-understood; so I desire a little to explain my self, before I descend to the Particulars.

And *First*, I desire to note, that I shall not distinguish in this Discourse between Addressing and Petitioning; not but that there are essential Differences between them, and which used to be observ'd by the

People: Petitioning being applied to Requests only, and Addresses to every thing, congratulating or otherwise summary in representing the Subject, it is usual.

But Custom has now brought these things together, the Address is call'd a Petition, and the Petition an Address; and as the Age makes no Distinction, neither do I; and therefore I desire thro' this Paper to be understood promiscuously of both.

*Secondly*, I note here, that I shall in no wise dispute, whether it be lawful upon all Occasions for the People to address or petition the Parliament.

I shall take it for granted, and agree with any Body in this, *That it is the undoubted Right of the People of any free Nation, but particularly of the three Kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland, to present their Grievances to their respective Authorities, be it King, or Parliament, or both, and to do it by Petition, Address, or any other way within the limited Prescription of the Law.*

When these things by way of Note are first granted, I know nothing more in the way of my Discourse, but to come directly to the Subject of petitioning or addressing of Parliaments; and in this 'tis necessary to consider,

1. *The Nature of Petitioning or Addressing.*
2. *The Manner of Presenting.*
3. *The Duty of the Persons Addressed to.*
4. *The Duty of the Persons Addressing.*

All which shall be largely, and I hope fully, spoken to in the subsequent Papers.

## MISCELLANEA.

OUR last open'd the whole Arcana of Jacobite Principles, and the Ground of all the Appearance, that Party has made in Scotland in Behalf of the Kirk.

French Union, and James VIII. is the Burthen of the Song, the Center towards which all these things move, and the opening this Scene will bring a great many useful things to Light ; such as these,

1. That 'tis not the Kirk of Scotland as such, that opposes the Union ; but the Spirit of Jacobitism and Popery imposing upon them.

2. That the honest, tho' ignorant People, who are impos'd upon and deluded at first, may unwarily be drawn in to join their Opposition to the Union ; but as soon as the Devil, throwing off the painted Garment, discovers the Hypocrisie, they will start at his Cloven Foot, and quit both his Project and his Interest together.

3. That such of the poor People, who have been acted by this evil Spirit, will be the most zealous to destroy the Hopes of French Power and French Popery, when it comes to show its Face.

But to go on with the Dialogue, the Jacobite offers French Power, and James VIII. the one as an Ally, no more dangerous than Prelacy ; the other to be educated a Protestant.

Pres. Look you, Sir, as to Prelacy and Popery, I desire not to have it put to my Choice, which I must submit to, or to be plain, I desire not to be put to the Necessity of choosing one of them ; but if I were, the Word French would determine me ; I had rather have English Prelacy, than French Prelacy, or English Popery than French Popery ; and the Reason is plain, with the French, civil Tyranny will come hand in hand with the other ; but civil Liberty is establish'd in England, let what Part of Religion soever prevail ; and therefore were the Church but secure, I would be for uniting with England, and for your James VIII. I do not concern my self about him at all.

Jac. What, not tho' he was a Protestant ?

Pres. No not at all ! his Father carry'd him from the Crown, and abdicated for himself and his whole Race.

Jac. What is that to him, will you punish him for his Fathers Transgression ?

Pres. No, we do not punish him, but he suffers loss in the Consequence of his Fathers Disaster ; as if my Father spends my Inheritance, I shall be a Beggar of Course ; or if my Father was a Mahometan, I shall be an Infidel of Course, and yet GOD does not punish me for my Fathers Transgression ; 'tis all very just, Sir, and very equal.

Jac. I think, 'tis very cruel however to reject him, if he is willing to turn Protestant, and run abroad to Strangers.

Pres. The Crown and Succession depend upon Parliamentary Limitations ; England has settled it in especial Regard to Liberty and the Protestant Religion ; and could we have Security for our Religion, and a Treaty, I should be for readily uniting ; but I do not love this incorporating Union, I confess.

Jac. Well, your only Way is to oppose it by Force, for they will precipitate the Execution of it else.

Pres. And you will join with us, will you ?

Jac. Ay, with all our whole Strength.

Pres. And will you capitulate with us to establish the Protestant Religion, Presbytery and Church-Government ?

Jac. Let us destroy this Union, and raise the Parliament first, and we'll easily agree afterwards so as to please all Parties.

Pres. Behind me Satan ! Now, I have found it all out, no Sir, I have done ; I hear, some foolish People from Glasgow are march'd to the Place of Rendezvous, and we were preparing to meet them, and have receiv'd circular Letters from them for that Purpose — But Sir, 'tis all over, I see the Drift ; 'tis all Jacobitism, Popery, Prelacy and Tyranny, and I have done Sir, and all my Friends ; my Word for it, Sir, you get not a Cameronian in all Scotland to side with you.